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## Switch-reference in Seri

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Mary B. Moser

0. Introduction
1. *ta* and *ma* as subject-change markers
2. The verb 'be' in the subordinate clause
3. The verb 'be' in sentence-final position
4. Subject-change without markers
5. Summary

0. Several recent papers<sup>2</sup> have presented data on switch-reference (subject-change markers) in certain of the Yuman languages. The first article dealing with the subject in general is Jacobsen's "Switch-Reference in Hokan-Coahuiltecan",<sup>3</sup> in which he reports the feature as present in Washo and Kashaya (Southwestern Pomo) but absent in certain other Hokan languages. Winter<sup>4</sup> states that "switch-reference signaled by *-m* must be reconstructed for Proto-Yuman." As for Proto-Hokan, he believes that we must admit to the possibility that an independent development of switch-reference occurred in various member languages. He considers the likelihood "utterly remote" that a Proto-Hokan switch-reference device might be posited and effectively reconstructed.

This paper presents the Seri system of subject-change (SC) markers, thereby providing evidence of switch-reference devices from still another Hokan language.

1. Seri sentences frequently consist of one or more subordinate clauses and a main clause. In such sentences, all tenses of the lexical verb must normally be past or future, not a combination of the two. Change of subject in consecutive clauses within a sentence is marked in the subordinate clauses, which normally precede the main clause. This signaling of subject change is redundant when the verbs are overtly marked for person and number. But when the subjects of successive clauses are all third person (unmarked in Seri) and of the same number, it is the switch-reference marker alone that signals a change of subject.

One way in which Seri differs from the other Hokan languages already described is the manner in which it signals switch-reference. In some of these languages, same subject (SS) is indicated by adding *-k* to the verb in the subordinate clause. Different subject (DS) is indicated by *-m*.

In Seri, SS is unmarked. DS is signaled by either of two forms of the auxiliary *-a(a) be*: *ta* (subject change future (SCF)),<sup>5</sup> indicating a change of subjects between clauses pertaining to the future, or *ma* (subject change past (SCP)), between clauses pertaining to the past or present. Each occurs as the final word of a clause. In 1.1 these two SC indicators are illustrated in simple sentences. The functions of *ta*

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and *ma* are described in detail in 1.2 and 1.3, respectively, and in 1.4 both are presented as they occur with verbs of time and space, number, location, and manner.

1.1 In (1) the subjects of both clauses are the same, and therefore no SC indicator occurs.<sup>6</sup>

- (1) *po-kóo / sfi-škam-aʔa* (DF-[be all] / fut-[arrive pl]-TM) *They being all, they will arrive, i.e., All of them will arrive.*

In (2) the subjects are different, signaled by SCF indicator *ta* in the first (subordinate) clause.

- (2) *po-kóo ta / i-n-síi-ʔʔiit-aʔa* (DF-[be all] SCF / [3 obj]-[2 sub]-fut-eat-TM) *They being all, you will eat them, i.e., You should eat them all.*

The SCF indicator *ta* co-occurs only with a verb marked by dependent future (DF) *p-*,<sup>7</sup> which indicates that the verb of the subordinate clause has a future meaning. The SCF *ta* anticipates both that the verb of the following main clause is also future and that the main clause has a different subject.

In (3) both clauses have the same subject, and therefore no SC indicator occurs.

- (3) *t-kóo / y-áanniipʔat* (DP-[be all] / past-[go home pl]) *They being all, they went home, i.e., They all went home.*

In (4) the subjects are different, signaled by SCP indicator *ma* in the subordinate clause.

- (4) *t-kóo ma / i-míi-toʔka* (DP-[be all] SCP / [3 obj]-perf-[eat pl]) *It being all, they ate it, i.e., They ate all of it.*

The SCP indicator *ma* co-occurs only with a verb marked by dependent past (DP) *t-*, which indicates that the verb of the subordinate clause has a meaning of past. The SCP *ma* anticipates both that the verb of the following main clause is also past or present and that the main clause has a different subject.

1.2 In (2) the subordinate clause is marked for SC by the SCF *ta*, and the verb in the main clause is marked for future by *s-*. In (5) the subordinate clause is marked for SC by the SCF *ta*, and while the semantic category future is not overtly expressed by a future aspect marker, it is correctly realized in the main clause by *t-* (assertive) followed by *m-* (perfect) prefixed to the verb. In other words, each dependent aspect prefix corresponds to more than one aspect in the main clause, as long as that aspect is not incompatible with the semantic category of the dependent prefix.

- (5) *im-póo-fp ta / t-m-a-tíkpan* ([2 sub]-DF-arrive SCF / asser-perf-ca-work) *When you arrive, he works.*

In (6), since there is no change of subject in the three subordinate clauses, or between them and the main clause, no SC indicator occurs.

- (6) tʃiX ʔaa p-íix / ʔa-yáa i-p-a-kóXt / šiXkám kʔ i-p-éXXaa+im / ʔaa s-íix k-a-ʔa ([that one] there DF-sit / nom-own [3 obj]-DF-ca-keep / fish def [3 obj]-DF-[receive=rep] / there fut-sit nom-be-TM) *When he is over there, when he tends store, when he receives fish, he'll be over there, i.e., He'll be staying there, tending the store and receiving fish.*

Example (7) contains four subordinate clauses and one main clause. The subject of the first clause is *you*, that of the second clause is *I*, and that of the remaining three clauses is *foreigner*. Each of the first two clauses is marked to indicate that the subject of the next clause is different.

- (7) ʔ-a-p-áspox šo m-p-áai ta / ʔ-p-áššii ta-X / kóksar š ʔákkiiX mo-p-a-X / ʔe-póo-fp-X / šiX š ʔim-íssi-aʔa (nom-ca-pass-mark a [2 sub]-DF-make SCF / [1 sub]-DF-carry SCF-cond / foreigner a somewhere toward-DF-move-cond / [1 ref]-DF-arrive-cond / thing a [1 obj]-[fut=give]-TM) *When you make a paper, if I carry it, whenever a foreigner comes, when he comes to me, he'll give me something.*

Note that in the second clause of (7), the SC indicator is suffixed by -X (conditional). This is the only suffix which can occur with either the SC indicator or the other forms of the auxiliary *be* described in 2. below.

Examples (8) and (9) illustrate change of subject when the singular subject of a subordinate clause is included in the plural subject of the main clause. In spite of the partial identity of referents, the SC indicators are required in such cases. In (8) the *you* of the first clause is included in the *we* of the second clause.

- (8) ko-m-p-áskin ta-X / Xáa ʔaa ʔa-síi-škam-aʔa ([3 ref]-[2 sub]-DF-paddle SCF-cond / soon there [1 sub pl]-fut-[enter pl]-TM) *If you paddle with it, soon we'll enter there.*

In (9) the *I* of the first clause is included in the *we* of the second clause.

- (9) Felíipe k iʔaX ano ʔ-p-íix ta / taʔéWkw kix ko-nt-ʔá-ss-aat-aʔa (Felipe def side in [1 sub]-DF-sit SCF / Tiburon pos [3 ref]-forward-[1 sub pl]-fut-[move pl]-TM) *When I am in Felipe's boat, we'll go to Tiburon.*

1.3 In (10) the DP *t-* marks the verb of the first clause as dependent past. The subjects of both clauses are the same, and therefore no SC indicator occurs.

- (10) ʔái kop ʔapX t-ápX / im-mátX (air pos outside DP-stand-cond / perf-hot) *When the air comes out, it is hot.*

In (11) and (12) the subjects are different, signaled by SCP indicator *ma*.

- (11) t-ápka ma / ʔ-p-y-ím (DP-rain SCP / [1 sub]-intr-past-sleep) *When it rained, I slept.*

- (12) i-t-á?t ma / m-óxxookam ([3 obj]-DP-[see pl] SCP / perf-[flee pl])  
*When they saw them, they fled.*

In (12) the semantic role of the SC indicator is evident. *When they saw them, they fled* is ambiguous in English. In Seri the occurrence of the SC indicator eliminates the ambiguity. It clearly indicates that when subject<sub>1</sub> saw subject<sub>2</sub>, subject<sub>2</sub> fled.

Example (13) contains four subordinate clauses with singular verbs unmarked for third person subject, and a main clause marked for first person plural subject. Change of subject is signaled in the first, second, and fourth clauses. In the first two instances, the SC indicator is the sole marker of the change; in the final clause, the change is also evident because of the subject prefix. The context from which (13) is taken makes it clear that the subject of the first, third, and fourth clauses is *horse*, and the subject of the second clause is *he (man)*.

- (13) táaX iti t-áp ma / yáX kix an i-t-átñi ma / i-k-áattaaX i-t-k<sup>w</sup>áq /  
 tá ?ak iti t-áp ma / k<sup>w</sup>-?a-míi-škam (there on DP-stand SCP / belly  
 pos in [3 obj]-DP-hit SCP / inf-nom-go [3 obj]-DP-[neg=know] / there  
 spec in DP-stand SCP / [3 ref]-[1 sub pl]-perf-[arrive pl]) *When it  
 stood there, after he hit it in the belly, it could not move, it  
 stood over in that place, we arrived to where it was.*

1.4. Many Seri expressions that translate English adverbs are basically clauses that meet the requirements for SC. These include notions of time and space, number, location, and manner. (14)-(20) all make use of the SC indicators:

- (14) ?ánt po-fi ta / ?a-síi-tX-a?a (land DF-regain SCF / [1 sub pl]-fut-  
 [go pl]-TM) *When the land regains (the sun), we'll go, i.e., Tomorrow we'll go.*
- (15) po-?ámmook ta / píest ?ant s-m-íix k-ée-ya (DF-night SCF / fiesta  
 land fut-neg-sit nom-say-Q) *When it is night, won't there by a  
 fiesta?, i.e., Tonight won't there by a fiesta?*
- (16) po-yáam ta / ?-p-s-óoss-a?a (DF-[be spacious] SCF / [1 sub]-intr-  
 fut-sing-TM) *When it is spacious, I'll sing, i.e., Later I'll sing.*
- (17) iXáap t-ápXa ma / yóo-škam (days DP-three SCP / past-[arrive pl])  
*When there were three days, they arrived, i.e., They arrived three  
 days ago.*
- (18) ?ákkii ?ak ano t-i? ma / in-t-á??o (someplace spec on DP-[be locat-  
 ed] SCP / [2 sub]-inter-see) *When it was someplace, did you see  
 it?, i.e., Where did you see it?*
- (19) óX t-p-akta ma / ?ápX i-t-akmo+ka / i-y-óoktam (thus DP-pass-[look  
 at] SCP / outside [3 obj]-DP-[take out pl] / [3 obj]-past-[look at  
 pl]) *When it was thus looked at, they took them out, they looked  
 at them, i.e., Then they took them out and looked at them.*
- (20) šó t-p-ákta ma / in-t-óo??a (what DP-pass-[look at] SCP / [2 sub]-  
 inter-cry) *What it was looked at, are you crying, i.e., Why are you  
 crying?*

One common time expression in which no SC indicator occurs is the term for *yesterday*.

- (21) moXímmaa šo ʔ-y-óoʔʔo (yesterday one [1 sub]-past-see) *I saw one yesterday.*

moXímma *yesterday* is a particle, not a verb. At first glance it might appear to be a variation of the verb -óXXi *die/finish*, followed by SC indicator ma, i.e., m-óXXii ma (perf-die SCP). But SC indicator ma co-occurs only with the t- (dependent past), never with m- (perfect). Compare the following (22)-(25) containing the verb -óXXi.

- (22) t-óoXXii ma / ʔímmoo ʔa-y-áaʔaxk (DP-die SCP / far [1 sub pl]-past-throw) *When it died, we threw it away.*

- (23) t-óoXXi / iʔméemt (DP-die / [perf=stink]) *When it died, it stank.*

- (24) m-óoXXi (perf-die) *It is dead/finished.*

- (25) m-óoXXi // táaX ma-t-kon-képt (perf-die / that [2 sub pl]-inter-neg-[like pl]) *It's dead. Don't you like that?*

Example (22) contains a subordinate clause that is marked by SCP ma indicating a change of subject in the following clause. Example (23) contains the same clause without the SCP indicator, because the next clause has the same subject. Example (24) is a one-clause independent sentence in which the verb -óXXi occurs with the perfect tense marker m-. Example (25) contains two independent clauses. It is possible that historically *yesterday* was a verb meaning 'when it was finished' or 'after it finished'.

2. The auxiliary verb -a(a) *be* frequently occurs as a second verb in a clause. It is marked for tense-aspect. We assume it has a third person prefix which is  $\emptyset$ . It is not marked for number.

In the subordinate clause in (26), the combination of the lexical verb marked by s- (future) and the verb *be* marked by DF p- translates 'if it will be ...'. The subjects are the same in both clauses, and therefore no SC indicator occurs.

- (26) šíX kʔ in-síi-ʔʔiit p-a-X<sup>8</sup> / in-so-néaX-aʔa (thing def [2 sub]-fut-eat DF-be-cond / [2 sub]-fut-[wash hands]-TM) *If it will be that you will eat a thing, wash your hands, i.e., If you are going to eat something, wash your hands.*

When a change of subject is marked in a clause containing both a lexical verb and the verb *be*, this subject change is triggered by the subject of the lexical verb, but the verb *be* takes the dependent tense marker. The SC indicator always follows *be*.

In (27) the subjects are different, signaled by the SC indicator ta following the DF-marked verb *be*.

- (27) ʒíχ kʔ in-síi-ʔʔiit p-a ta-χ / ma-ʔ-s-íiχ-aʔa (thing def [2 sub]-fut-eat DF-be SCF-cond / [2 obj]-[1 sub]-fut-leave-TM) *If it will be that you will eat a thing, I will leave you, i.e., If you are going to eat something, I'll leave.*

In (28) and (29) the verb *be* occurs as the only verb in the subordinate clause. In both examples, the *be* is followed by the SC indicator.

- (28) mʔsχ p-a ta / ʔe-síi-mχ-aʔa (well DF-be SCF / [1 ref]-fut-tell-TM) *It being well, he will tell me, i.e., He will tell me correctly.*

- (29) mʔsχ t-a ma / ʔe-yo-m-ámχ (well DP-be SCP / [1 ref]-past-neg-tell) *It being well, he didn't tell me, i.e., He didn't tell me correctly.*

In the subordinate clauses in (30) and (31), the combination of the lexical verb marked by *s-* (future) and the verb *be* marked by DP *t-* translates 'when ... was going to ...'. The subjects are the same in both clauses and therefore no SC indicator occurs.

- (30) ktám kiʔ kanóaa kom ano s-íiχ t-a / i-t-íaa / ʔánt y-a-ʔ-xíit (man def boat pos in fut-sit DP-be / [3 obj]-DF-[go to] / land past-ca-pass-fall) *When the man was going to get in the boat, when he went to it, he fell.*

- (31) sóo-ʔʔiit-in t-a / i-y-óoʔʔo (fut-eat-rep DP-be / [3 obj]-past-see) *When he was going to eat, he saw it.*

In (32) and (33) the subject change is signaled by the SCP *ma* following the DP-marked verb *be*.

- (32) sóo-ʔʔiit-in t-a ma / ktám iʔmáa kiʔ yóo-fp. (fut-eat-rep DP-be SCP / man other def past-arrive) *When he was going to eat, the other man arrived.*

- (33) s-m-áttaax t-a ma / iʔ-yóo-mm-e (fut-neg-go DP-be SCP / [1 sub]-past-neg-give) *When he wasn't going to go, I didn't give to him.*

3. The subordinate clauses described so far have preceded the main clauses. These consecutive clauses are frequently temporal in meaning, one event closely following the other or associated with the other in time.

Without any change of meaning, a subordinate clause containing a verb marked by DF *p-* may also follow the clause. The order of the clauses in (16) is reversed in (34). the subordinate clause is now sentence final. The occurrence of *ta* in sentence final position following the DF marked verb identifies it as an SC. Examples (16) and (34) have essentially the same meaning.

- (34) ʔ-p-s-óoss-aʔa / po-yáam ta ([1 sub]-intr-fut-sing-TM / DF-[be spacious] SCF) *I'll sing later.*

There is a change of meaning when a subordinate clause that con-

tains a lexical verb marked by *s-* (future) and the verb *be* marked by *t-* (dependent past) occurs following the main clause, rather than preceding it, as do the subordinate clauses in (30)-(33). When such a marked clause occurs sentence final, it expresses purpose or motivation, and is not a sequence of past events; the action may yet be unrealized. Examples (35) and (36) contain subordinate clauses of purpose or motivation. There is no SC indicator.

- (35) yóo-fp / sóo-??iit-in t-a (past-arrive / fut-eat-rep DP-be) *He arrived, it was that he will eat, i.e., He arrived to eat.*
- (36) me-?-p-míi-fp / ?-a-p-á??aa k-ís pak i?-s-éX+ t-a ([2 ref]-[1 sub]-intr-perf-arrive / nom-ca-pass-grind nom-raw some [1 sub]-fut-take DP-be) *I arrived to you, it was that I will take some flour, i.e., I came to you to get some flour.*

When the verb *be* marked by *m* (perfect) occurs sentence final following a subordinate clause, it seems to function as a sentence closer. Note that this is homophonous with SCP *ma*. It is conceivable that at some point in the history of Seri *ma* functioned as a subject-change marker in sentence final subordinate clauses, but examples (39) and (40) below provide counterexamples to this hypothesis for a synchronic analysis of Seri.

In (37) and (38) there is a change of subjects in the final, subordinate clauses. In (39) and (40) the subjects are the same in both clauses. Each of these four sentences ends with *m-a* (perf-be).

- (37) xíkkaa ?-a-p-ámyan ki? tássoo ?íi-mm-e / i-síi-m t-a m-a (things nom-ca-pass-[swallow pl] def one [1 sub]-perf-give / [3 obj]-fut-swallow DP-be perf-be) *I gave her a pill, it is that she was going to swallow it, i.e., I gave her a pill to swallow.*
- (38) šixkám kom i-míi-xkim / ?áXš kop i-síi-??iit t-a m-a (fish pos [3 obj]-perf-throw / dog pos [3 obj]-fut-eat DP-be perf be) *He threw the fish, it is that the dog was going to eat it, i.e., He threw the fish to the dog to eat.*
- (39) móoffi ki? kikkoot míi-p / kikkoot i-s-áai-tin t-a m-a (Móoffi def [with them] perf-stand / [with them] [3 obj]-fut-do-rep DP-be perf-be) *Móoffi was with them, it is that she was going to help them, i.e., Mooffi was with them to help them.*
- (40) kʷáǰkkoox Antóonio k ?a-t-ošíit / ?a-s-óoktan t-a m-a ([old man] Antonio def [1 sub pl]-DP-[go to pl] / [1 sub pl]-fut-[look pl] DP-be perf-be) *We went to Old Man Antonio, it is that we were going to look at him, i.e., We went to visit Old Man Antonio.*

Note that in (40) both clauses are subordinate, with both the lexical verb in the first clause and the verb *be* in the second clause marked by the DP *t-*.

Although a description of the other functions of *be* lies outside the scope of this paper, several more examples of *be* in sentence final



position follow for comparison purposes.

- (41) ʔaX k-isit-áa ʔaX t-aʔíi / ʔaX m-áa (just nom-little-really just DP-feel just perf-be) *It is just that it seems so really little.*
- (42) ʔáX š im-ássiox-iʔaa y-a-X (water any [neg nom]-[drink pl]-TM past-be-cond) *It was because they didn't drink any water.*
- (43) šíX šo ʔi-m-íiXxiim-iʔaa y-a-X (thing a 1-neg-fear-TM past-be-cond) *It was because I wasn't afraid of anything.*
- (44) im-pi-ʔáa ʔaX yó-mm-a ([2 sub]-DF-fast just past-neg-be) *It is just not that you would be so fast, i.e., You just don't go fast.*

4. Clauses with nominalized verbs contain no SC indicator when followed by a clause with a different subject. In (45) there is no subject in the subordinate clause, so an SC is not anticipated. In (46) and (47) there is a subject change, but even though the nominalized verbs contain person markers, no SC indicators occur.

- (45) mi-m-óos i-s-a-X / mo-n-s-íin-aʔa (2-neg-sing inf-fut-be-cond / toward-[2 sub]-fut-move-TM) *If it is to be your-not-singing, come back, i.e., Even if you don't sing, come back.*
- (46) mi-m-óos i-s-a-X / χíkkaa k-óoppoo+ me-ʔ-s-áa-ss-aʔa (2-neg-sing inf-fut-be-cond / things nom-black [2 ref]-[1 sub]-fut-ca-drink-TM) *If it is to be your-not-singing, I'll give you black things to drink, i.e., Even if you don't sing, I'll give you coffee to drink.*
- (47) i-táppoo+kim i-s-a-X / ʔe-ká-mxk (3-broken inf-fut-be-cond / [1 ref]-imp-bring) *If it is to be its-being-broken, bring it to me, i.e., Even if it is broken, bring it to me.*

Contrary-to-fact sentences, which contain the contrary-to-fact particle pikiX, are not marked for SC when the main clause has a different subject. (48) and (49) are examples of such sentences.

- (48) mi-m-mokéeppee pikiX / ʔa-síi-+X-aʔa (2-neg-sick [cont fact] / [1 sub pl]-fut-go-TM) *If your-not-sick, we will go, i.e., If you had not been sick, we would have gone.*
- (49) i-k-a-tíkpan šo ʔ-a-p-áʔʔoo pikiX / ʔ-p-s-a-tíkpan-aʔa (inf-nom-ca-work-TM) *If to be a worker were seen, I will work, i.e., If there were work to do, I'd work.*

Clauses joined with the coordinate conjunction Xo but do not occur with the SC indicator. These are independent clauses and each can stand alone without the connecting Xo. This demonstrates that the relationship between them is one of coordination rather than subordination.

- (50) pak ʔáXXoox im-áškam-iʔa Xo pak ʔáXXoos k-ááškam-iʔa (some shore [neg nom]-[enter pl]-TM but some shore nom-[enter pl]-TM) *Some*

*don't arrive at shore but others do arrive at shore.*

(51) yóo-fp Xo ?-yo-m-á??o (past-arrive but [1 sub]-past-neg-see) *He arrived, but I didn't see him.*

5. In summary, subject change in Seri between subordinate clauses or between subordinate and main clauses is signaled in the subordinate clause by a combination of two factors. The first is the occurrence of one or two tense markers (DF p- or DP t-) either on the lexical verb when it is the only verb in the clause, or on the auxiliary verb *be* following the lexical verb. The second is the occurrence of the appropriate form of the verb *be* as SC indicator (ta (subject change future) or ma (subject change past)).

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Seri is a Hokan language spoken by some 440 people living along the coast of Sonora, Mexico in two main villages, Punta Chueca and El Desemboque, and in a number of seasonal camps. This paper is based on language data collected during the past two decades under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. A revision of an earlier draft of this paper was done at a workshop of the Summer Institute of Linguistics at the Centro de estudios Jaime Torres Bodet in Mitla, Oaxaca, Mexico in September 1975. I am deeply grateful to my many Seri tutors, and especially to my principal language assistants Roberto Herrera T., Oscar Romero, Lorenzo Thompson, and Maria Thompson. I am indebted to Viola G. Waterhouse, Barbara E. Hollenbach, Donald G. Frantz, and Edward Moser, of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, for their valuable comments and suggestions. A concordance of Seri texts, produced at the University of Oklahoma under National Science Foundation grant GS-1605, Project for Computer Support of Linguistic Fieldwork, proved useful in the analysis. For a description of Seri phonemes see Edward W. Moser and Mary B. Moser, "Consonant Vowel Balance in Seri (Hokan) Syllables." *Linguistics* (1965): (1965): 40-67.

<sup>2</sup>James M. Crawford "The Cocopa Language" (unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1966); William H. Jacobsen, "Switch-Reference in Hokan-Coahuiltecan," in *Studies in Southwestern Ethnolinguistics*, ed. D. Hymes and W. Bittle [The Hague: Mouton, 1967]; Margaret Langdon, *A Grammar of Diegueño: The Mesa Grande Dialect*, UCPL, no. 66 [Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970]; Judith Joël, "The -K and -M Suffixes in Paipai," paper presented at the 73rd annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Mexico City, 1974; Pamela Munro, "Topics in Mojave Syntax" (unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of California, San Diego, 1974); Martha B. Kendall, "The /-k/, /-m/ Problem in Yavapai Syntax," *IJAL* 41 (1975): 1-9; Werner Winter, "Switch-reference in Yuman Languages," in *Hokan Studies*, ed. M. Langdon and S. Silver, *Janua Linguarum, Series Practica*, no. 181 (The Hague, in press).

<sup>3</sup>Jacobsen, pp. 238-263.

<sup>4</sup>Winter, op. cit.

<sup>5</sup>For this paper, the SC auxiliaries are written ta and ma instead of t-a (DP-be) and m-a (perf-be) because synchronically they act as units. It is inviting to speculate why auxiliary verbs meaning 'when it is' and 'it has been, it is', developed into SCF and SCP markers respectively. Presumably at some point in the history of Seri they were productive. Perhaps they were once used only in sentences in which the relationship between the subordinate clause and the main clause is strictly temporal, but now their use has broadened to sentences in which other relations hold (see examples (2) and (4)).

<sup>6</sup>Square brackets are used to enclose a gloss containing more than one word. = joins a gloss of more than one word when the Seri form is complex. / marks division between clauses. // marks division between sentences. Hyphens mark morpheme boundaries. The following abbreviations are used:

asser, assertive	obj, object
ca, causative	pass, passive
cond, conditional	perf, perfect
def, definite	pl, plural
DF, dependent future	pos, positional article
DP, dependent past	Q, question
DS, different subject	ref, referent
fut, future	rep, repetitive
imp, imperative	SC, subject change
inf, infinitive	SCF, subject change future
inter, interrogative	SCP, subject change past
intr, intransitive	spec, specific
loc, locative	SS, same subject
neg, negative	sub, subject
nom, nominalizer	TM, tense-mode

<sup>7</sup>For convenience, these prefixes are hereafter cited in the text in their simple base forms, but in examples are given in the actual surface forms.

<sup>8</sup>p-a-X has an idiolectal variant p-l-X.

<sup>9</sup>pikiX has an idiolectal variant pakiX.